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I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. IX, NO. 1 JANUARY 9, 1961 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

Never Were So Many Warnings Ignored As In Laos

Washington, Jan. 4

At a gay reception given the new Congress by the Women's National Press Club here last night, Chairman Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee seems to have been alone in taking a gloomy view of the Laotian crisis.* "There may be a war over Laos," he told an impromptu interviewer. "Once again they may call us the War Party. Nobody will remember that we Democrats inherited this situation in Asia." Few also will remember that the Democrats and the country had ample warning that something was rotten in the state of Laos. In 1958 the waste and corruption which marked our aid program in Laos were disclosed by the General Accounting Office, publicized in the *Wall Street Journal, Reader's Digest* and *The Reporter.* The Porter Hardy subcommittee of House Government Operations took 984 pages of testimony on the Laotian situation in the spring of 1959 and published a scathing report on the role played by our Ambassador J. Graham Parsons in presiding complacently from 1955 to 1957 over what was probably the most corrupt of all U.S. aid operations and in railroading out of the country for "nervous disorder" a General Accounting Office auditor who came "close to discovering the truth" about the net of bribery and prejury which shielded the waste of millions there. Yet Fulbright's Senate committee remained as unaware of these revelations in the press and on the other side of the Capitol as if they were occurring on the moon. His Foreign Relations committee unanimously endorsed Parsons May 26, 1959, for promotion to Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, a post in which he was confirmed by the Senate without discussion, and from which he has been helping in the current crisis to shape the policies pushing us toward direct military intervention in Laos.

Dulles Didn't Want Peace in Indochina

The Laotion crisis illustrates how ineffectively democratic controls operate in overseeing our vast American empire and in checking on the activities of the obscure satraps who determine its destinies. It is one episode in a story of costly misjudgment. We spent $2,300,000,000 helping France carry on the eight years of futile jungle war by which she tried to keep control of Indochina. When the French early in 1954 began to talk wearily of peace, Dulles, Nixon and Radford tried unsuccessfully to drum up support for U.S. military involvement. When peace was made in Geneva in July of that year, Dulles refused to attend the conference and set himself to undercut the settlement. We used our influence to prevent the agreed upon elections which were supposed to unite Vietnam in July 1956 and we have done all in our power —and spent another $300,000,000—to block fulfillment of the Geneva agreement in Laos. This called for reunification of the country by free elections under the supervision of a tripartite international commission (Canada, India and Poland) and the establishment of a coalition government with the Pathet Lao who controlled two northeastern provinces adjoining Communist China and North Vietnam. The neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma succeeded over our objections in holding these elections in 1958 but within a few days after the International Commission left Laos, there was a rightist coup, the leaders of the Pathet Lao were thrown in jail, an army dictatorship was brought into power and the civil war resumed. In 1959 the Laotian rightists did their best to bring about U.S. military involvement with stories about invasions from China and North Vietnam which proved untrue. In August of last year a paratroop battalion under Captain Kong Le overthrew the rightists, restored Souvanna Phouma to power and promised investigation of the military and civilian leaders "who have been making huge profits" out of the instability in Laos.

(Continued on Page Four)

The Genius Whom Kennedy Is Keeping On

"There is reason to be encouraged by the trend of events in Laos. . . . The open identification of Laos with the free world, the elimination of Communists from the Cabinet. . . . The recent grant of extraordinary powers to the Phoui Sananikone Government for a period of one year should permit the sound non-Communist elements in the country to address their efforts without distraction to the consolidation and improvement of the situation . . . without any risk of being overthrown by a parliamentary combination of Communists, neutralists and disgruntled conservatives. Then on January 25, 1959, he [Sananikone] formed an even stronger government based on the Lao Hom Lao party, the army and a younger generation anti-Communist group known as the Committee for the Defense of National Interests. The Government is pledged to constitutional reform which among other things should serve to diminish the political possibilities of the Communists."

—Hon. C. Douglas Dillon, then Under Secretary of State, testifying March 11, 1959, at the start of the Porter Hardy subcommittee (House Government Operations) inquiry into U.S. Aid Operations in Laos. Mr. Dillon has been named Secretary of the Treasury by Kennedy.

*** Other somewhat less than clairvoyant comments collected by Dorothy McCardle for the Washington Post: Adlai Stevenson's "Laos is serious because the loss of any territory to the Communists is serious" and Hubert Humphrey's "Laos is no more important than any other place in the world. Latin America has top priority. As a matter of fact we have to deal with totalitarianism all across the board."**

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Pugwash Conferees Say Russians Serious About Discussing Total Disarming But —

No Passion for Disarmament Discernible in Kennedy's Appointments

Except for Prof. Thomas C. Schelling of Harvard (reported annoyed because the Russians did not take his idea of a stabilized nuclear deterrent seriously), members of the U.S. delegation to the recent Pugwash conference in Moscow came back generally encouraged and feeling that the Russians meant their talk of total disarmament. Among the encouraging items reported by scientist-participants was the friendly reception by their Russian opposite numbers of some new ideas in the field of inspection and control. One was the ingenious scheme by Prof. Sohn of Harvard for dividing the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. into six parts (see box below) so that disarmament and control could proceed in six "territorial" stages. Another was the equally ingenious idea by Prof. Jay Orear of Cornell for writing into a disarmament treaty the right of the international inspectorate to interrogate citizens under oath as to possible violations, to punish violators and to reward informers. This would involve the development of supra-national loyalties, and fits into the same pattern of a new Russian readiness to discuss the idea of a world police force as part of total disarmament. The Americans were told the Russians would accept any form of inspection and control if we accepted total disarmament.

Whether real or bluff, this requires effective exploration. Utopian as total disarmament may seem at the moment, there is general agreement among scientists that partial disarmament is not practicable in the nuclear age. Unfortunately among the men so far appointed by Kennedy to deal with disarmament problems, there is no sign of the imagination or even interest required. Most of them are cold warriors with an emotional stake in the arms race. John J. McCloy, named as Kennedy's top official for disarmament, is a man of great ability but his chief claim to fame is the role he played in resuscitating and rearming Adenauer Germany as U.S. High Commissioner there after the war. Paul H. Nitze who will have special disarmament responsibilities as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs advocates "arms control" not disarmament. The new Air Force Secretary, Eugene M. Zuckert, is a former AEC Commissioner who shares Thomas E. Murray's hostility to a nuclear test agreement. Roswell L. Gilpatric the new Deputy Secretary of Defense also advocates a stepped up arms race.

The Magic of Number

Two sessions of the recent meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York were devoted to the war danger. On the 27th, Sir C. P. Snow spoke for the better conscience of the scientific community, warning that the discovery of fission had turned physicists into soldiers without uniform; he dwelt on the dangers of soldierly obedience as evidenced by the horrors of the Nazi era. He went on to contrast the "finite risk" in any nuclear test agreement with the "certainty of disaster" if the nuclear arms race is allowed to continue.

On the 28th, three social scientists and a physicist appeared together on a panel dealing with disarmament. The economist, Kenneth E. Boulding of the University of Michigan said, "Every increase in arms expenditures increases our danger rather than our security." Dr. Jerome Frank, the Johns Hopkins psychiatrist, declared mutual deterrence was "actually increasing, rather than decreasing, the threat to our biological survival." Charles Osgood, the University of Illinois political scientist, spoke of the moral degeneration accompanying the arms race.

These thoughtful discussions got into few of the papers. What made the big headlines were some figures in the talk by the physicist Ralph Lapp. Dr. Lapp said we now had 1,000 H-bombs each capable of destroying a city and enough stuff in stockpile to make 50,000 more. Dr. Lapp used the figures to show the madhouse pace at which we were piling up weapons of mass destruction. But the headlines made them sound reassuring. How to get disarmament when we instinctively think that the more H-bombs we have the safer we are?

An Ingenious New Scheme for Resolving East-West Differences on Disarmament

"By the end of the 1950's, the Western powers and the Soviet Union had come quite close together on the goal of general and complete disarmament and on the main components of a disarmament plan. They continue, however, to disagree on the steps which should be taken at various stages. . . . The Western proposals stress the need for strict controls from the very beginning, while the Soviet proposals envisage limited controls only at the end of the disarmament process. . . . The Soviet bloc objects that in these [Western] plans the amount of control is not proportionate to the amount of disarmament and that, especially in the beginning, 90 percent of controls would accompany 10 percent of disarmament. . . . It seems desirable, therefore, to devise a compromise solution in which disarmament and controls would go hand in hand. . . .

"Let us assume that there is an agreement to introduce certain disarmament and control measures over a six-year period. . . . In such a case, the territories of the U.S. and the Soviet Union would be divided into six regions, and each year the disarmament measures and the accompanying controls would be introduced to one of these regions. At the end of the six years all the territory of both sides would be covered. . . .

"Before the beginning of the first year of arms control, each country would submit to the international control agency two lists, prepared in accordance with an agreed questionnaire. One list would contain an enumeration of all the military installations and production facilities which would be subject to continuous supervision by fixed inspection teams. A second list would contain, in the first place, the national totals of various armaments, installations and production facilities which are subject to arms controls, and in the second place, regional totals of these objects of control. . . .

"The choice of the region to be made subject to disarmament and control in a particular year would be in the hands of the international agency (or of the other party to the disarmament treaty) and the nation concerned would not know in advance which region would be chosen. Consequently, if a nation should put a disproportionate number of armaments in a particular region and should not report all of them in the preliminary list, its deception would be easily discovered if that region should be chosen as one of the first areas to be thoroughly inspected . . ."

—From a paper on the territorial method of phasing arms control presented at the Pugwash conference by Prof. Louis B. Sohn of Harvard, co-author with Grenville Clark of the monumental, "World Peace Throug World Law."

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Few Normal Americans Visible in the Demonstrations for Walter's Un-Americans

Rockwell's Nazis March With Swastika Flag to Defend House Committee

By the standards he normally applies to others, Congressman Walter would have an uncomfortable time explaining the kind of pickets who rallied to the defense of his Un-American Activities Committee here Jan. 2. When some 350 youthful demonstrators from a dozen states as far away as California arrived that morning to picket the White House in furtherance of the campaign to abolish the Committee, they found a counter demonstration in Walter's favor. Because of the temporary stands in front of the White House for inauguration, all were shunted off to the far side of Lafayette Park. A watchful and impartial police force kept the demonstrators safely apart.

The most conspicuous point, the sidewalk in front of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, was assigned to some two dozen uniformed members of Rockwell's American Nazi Party. They paraded with the American flag and the swastika side by side before the Chamber's marble entrance as if to dramatize a favorite Marxist thesis linking Fascism and big business. Their banners read "Nazis Support the HUAC", "Only Jews and Reds Oppose the Committee" and "FDR Helped Russia. You, Too, Jimmy?"

A United Front of U.S. Fascists

On the same side of the street but in front of the adjoining Hay-Adams Hotel was a rival Fascist group, "Fighting American Nationalists", marching in temporary united front with Rockwell's Nazis. Their placards included "God Bless Walter" and "Remember Who Got Alger Hiss." On the Lafayette Park pavement across from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce marched a third group of pro-Walter pickets, mostly Hungarian and Cuban refugees, with a sprinkling of skid row characters and a handful calling themselves "Young Americans for Freedom." They carried banners saying "Abolish? No! Strengthen? Yes!" These seemed a translation from the familiar Cuban, as if originally devised as "Walter Si—Castro No." Walter's International Anti-Comintern as thus made visible contained few specimens identifiable as normal Americans.

All this made the placards carried by Walter pickets seem superfluous. We hope the newly organized National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities will circulate a picture pamphlet on this week's demonstrations. Its chairman, Aubrey Williams, once head of Roosevelt's National Youth Administration, spoke with sincerity and power to a rally held by the student pickets in All Souls Unitarian Church after the demonstration, and Dr. Willard Uphaus fresh from jail in New Hampshire contributed an inspiring presence and moving words to the campaign to end the Congressional Inquisition. But nothing could be as eloquent as those who turned out to defend it.

Behind the Hollywood Blacklist

We hope the evidence to be submitted in the newly filed $7,500,000 anti-trust suit against the major Hollywood studios for blacklisting will include the postwar reports of the Committee on Communism of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The famous Hollywood investigation of the Un-American Activities Committee in 1947 was suggested by a U.S. Chamber report of 1946. Attorneys for the 12 writers and actors suing the studios will find in these reports proof of a concerted plans for "community action" using the House Committee, the American Legion, Counterattack and similar agencies to drive liberals and radicals of various shades from the entertainment and opinion industries and from a wide range of public and private employment. Behind the witch hunters were more respectable forces and it is time they were called to account.

Roosevelt Opens Campaign for Public Hearing on Un-American Committee Budget

"The Committee has made a tremendous effort to obscure the real issues posed by its activities. It has done this through a massive propaganda effort designed to prove that all its opponents are Communists . . . by employing a brand of logic not accepted in the United States since the Salem witch trials. . . . It goes this way: the Committee is anti-Communist; anyone who opposes the Committee is, therefore, an anti-anti-Communist; since the product of two negatives is a positive, anyone who opposes the Committee is a Communist or at least a dupe. . . .

"The heroic campaign to make the nation safe for the Un-American Activities Committee has now led to the production of a motion picture, 'Operation Abolition.' . . . The film concerns itself mainly with the demonstrations which took place in San Francisco last May. . . . Its major thesis is that the Communists want to see the Un-American Activities Committee abolished. However, it never for one second acknowledges that others—many others—who are neither Communists nor Communist dupes also are in favor of the same objective. . . .

"Meanwhile, however, it is still politically dangerous for many members of Congress to express by means of a direct vote their innermost feelings about the Committee. I know, because they have told me. This, I think, presents a challenge to the press, to other members of the intellectual community, and to all who have the power to inform—or to misinform—the public. May I express the hope that they will rise to the occasion and perform their educating task honestly and well so that soon it will be possible for Congressmen to vote their convictions and do away with this Committee. Newspapers like the New York Times, the San Francisco Chronicle, the Washington Post and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch have already shown the way. . . .

"Until that day I do not plan to move formally again for the abolition of the Committee, lest the resulting vote mislead the public into thinking that this Committee really has the backing of this House. . . . However, we cannot await the millennium, and therefore I make the following suggestion as a step in the right direction. Next month we shall be examining the appropriation requests of our various committees. My recommendation is that we scrutinize the budget of the Un-American Activities Committee with the greatest care in a public hearing before the House Administration Committee. . . . I shall formally ask the Chairman to hold hearings on the budget request. . . .

"If we scrutinize the budget request of the Committee with care—as we do with regard to the budgets of other committees—I am confident that we will save a considerable sum of money. And, as a happy byproduct of our economy drive, we will limit the power of this Committee to embarrass our Nation, to humiliate its citizens and to tarnish the good name of this House."

—James Roosevelt (D. Cal.) in a letter to his House colleagues dated December 31.

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Asia's Highest Paid Army (We Paid Them) Also Among Its Worst

(Continued from Page One)

Mr. Parsons was soon back in Laos last fall trying to upset the new government. According to disclosures made by Prime Minister Nehru at a press conference in October, Parsons was sent to Vientiane by the State Department to threaten Prince Souvanna Phouma with loss of American aid if he did not "cease his attempts to negotiate with the Communist Pathet Lao movement and end all contact with Captain Kong Le," which he refused to do, threatening in turn to ask the Soviet Union for aid if U.S. aid were withdrawn. The London *Economist* (Oct. 29) in reporting these revelations by Nehru commented that "the policy of grading economic aid according to the anti-communist credentials of recipient governments" went back to "Mr. Dulles's dictum that 'neutralism is immoral' " and pointed out that this policy had been shown to be not only obsolete but "counter-productive." "Domestic communism," it said, "has been far weaker in neighboring Cambodia, which has been determinedly neutralist since independence and which draws aid from all sides, than in Laos, where a succession of anti-communist governments have paid their soldiers and civil servants out of the American taxpayer's pocket."

How We Helped the Left in Laos

It is American policy which has strengthened the Leftists in Laos. The Porter Hardy report in June, 1959, showed that the State Department in deciding to support a huge Laotian army "despite contrary recommendations by the Joint Chiefs of Staff" had so flooded the country with money as to set off a disastrous inflation which doubled the cost of living from 1953 to 1958 and by enriching a handful of Vientiane merchants and officials "tended to lend credence to the Communist allegation that the Royal Lao government was 'corrupt' and 'indifferent' to the needs of the people." Our policies by cynically supporting anti-parliamentary military coups when it served our purposes has also discredited democracy in the eyes of Laotian intellectuals. More recently we pushed Prince Souvanna Phouma into dependence on Moscow by supplying the rightist military forces against him directly and through Thailand with tanks and artillery. This, and the Thailand economic blockade against Vientiane, led Phouma before his recent fall to ask the Soviets for gasoline and military supplies. These supply flights through Hanoi in North Vietnam to what was then clearly the legitimate government of Laos now figure in the proof unveiled at the State Department of outside aid. Prince Phouma fled from the U.S.-supported rebels December 9. The worsening situation since amply confirms the *Economist's* comment (Dec. 24) that it would have been better if Prince Phouma had "been allowed to pursue his patient task of conciliation, unhampered by an American-aided right-wing rebellion."

Nothing illustrates more vividly the bankruptcy of our policy in Laos than the repeatedly demonstrated weakness of the Army we have so generously supported there. It is the highest paid army in Asia and variously estimated (the canny Laotians have never let us know the exact numbers, perhaps lest we check on how much of the military payroll is diverted into the pockets of a few leaders) at from 23,000 to 30,000. Yet it has never been able to stand up against handfuls of guerrillas and even a few determined battalions like those mustered by Captain Kong Le. We can only hope that British, French, Indian and Japanese objections will now keep us from plunging into war in a trackless mountainous jungle land where our superior weapons will count for little, but where we may easily become involved in a broader conflict with neighboring North Vietnam and then China. The path to peace lies in reconvening the International supervisory commission and in returning to the principles of the 1954 Geneva accords.

No Need to Go to South Africa To Find Apartheid

"When you spend a lifetime crashing the jungle of racial barriers and you achieve this kind of job, it's dismaying to have to go back to the jungle. . . . I'm a symbol of 20,000,000 people."

—E. Frederick Morrow, a lawyer, first Negro to serve as an Administrative Assistant to the President, telling the New York Times (Dec. 23) that despite five years work in the White House his only offers of private employment were of a nature that "would confine me to working with the Negro community."

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NEWSPAPER

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Entered as Second Class Matter at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Post-dated Mondays but published every Thursday except the last two Thursdays of August and December at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U. S.; 6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $15 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

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